Method of Choosing Presidential Candidates in Early Days of the Republic.

The Congressional Caucus and the Candidates It Nominated-Its Gradual Decline in Popularity and Final Overthrow.

This year of presidential nominations will lead many to inquire about the origin of the present, or, indeed, any method for the selection of candidates for President and Vice-president. The original provision of the Constitution theoretically vested such a selection in the presidential electors, so that these persons, if they consulted together, as was evidently the original design, could arrive at a choice of President and Vice-president. It is doubtful if this system, had it been carried out, would have pleased the people, since they would, in time, have preferred to name the candidate for chief magistrate rather than to have elected, or permitted their legislators to have chosen a given number of persons to elect that official without in any way consulting them. In the first two presidential elections the popular choice was so emphatic that the electors all voted for George Washington, but as soon as there was division of sentiment, as soon as there were two parties in the countryas there were, except as to President, when Washington was elected the second time-it seemed to be necessary to have the members of the Electorial College instructed by some agency as to the choice of the respective parties. When such selection was indicated by any assemblage outside of the electors, their original functions were at an end, and their duties became perfunctory. If the powers of the Electoral College had remained intact, and the members of all the States had met as Congress now meets, and deliberated as to who should be their choice, and elected them, there would be no need of national conventions to perform the most important part of the duties originally devolved upon the Electoral College. The wise men who | by the congressional caucus was a pracframed the Constitution seem never to | tical have conceived that the people of the Na-tion they were forming could take a deep tures had eagerly assumed the function interest in presidential elections, but when | of making nominations for President in opthey did, the framers of the Co not only stood by and saw their ideal of an independent body of electors destroyed. but in Congress many of them took a hand

The nominating convention by delegates chosen by the party in the different States is a political evolution. While it was the purpose of the framers of the Constitution to make the selection and election of President entirely independent of Congress by declaring that no Senator nor Representative could be a presidential elector, it was But long before Congress, in an unofficial manner, proceeded to indicate to the electors their preferences for President. This was done as early as 17%, the third presidential election, by conferences of the respective parties in Congress. Subsequently these conferences were called congressional caucuses.

Than "caucus" there is scarcely a more

THE CAUCUS.

unmeaning and certainly no more uncouth word in the language. In the Eastern States the primary is called a caucus; elsewhere it has come to mean the meeting of party representatives or of the friends of a political candidate to agree upon a policy. It has been derived from the Algonquin word kaw-kaw-wus, meaning to consult, to speak, but the more probable derivation makes it a corruption of the word caulkers, the name of the mechanics who drive oakum into the seams of wooden ships to make them water-tight. In the coast towns of Massachusetts there was a large number of people engaged in work in ship-yards, including the caulkers. When trouble began with the British, these ship-yard people embraced no small part of those who took an active part in the deliberations of those who took offense at the British policy. The fact that these mechanics were allowed to participate in public meetings in which professional men, merchants and ship-owners were the larger part, led the opponents of the patriots to call them "caulkers" meetings by way of reproach or ridicule. The designation was so apt, that it was accepted, and before a generation had passed any public meeting to shape public action came to be known as a 'cancus." To-day it means the conference of the party in power to devise and agree upon measures. It is as essential in representative government, in spite of the abuse it receives, as the legislative body itself. What the members of Congress of both parties did in 1796 without dignifying their conference by the name of a caucus both parties did in 1800, the Federal party being

in the ascendency. John Adams was nominated for President and Mr. Pinckney was nominated for Vice-president. Adams, however, as was the misfortune of the statesmen of that name, was unpopular with his party, and Pinckney was named for Vice-President in the hope that might get a vote more than Adams and become President. after the Federalists nominated their ticket the Republican, or, really, the Democratic members of Congress met and nominated Jefferson and Burr. As the electors of both parties obeyed the dictates of the congressional presidential caucuses and voted to a man for their respective candi- | was 136 and he seemed to be improving dates, it may be said that the election of | until late on Sunday night, when the 1800 marked the downfall of the electoral system. The framers of the Constitution intended, above all things, to keep the choice of President out of the hands of Congress, and then, on the third election after the adoption of the Constitution, Congress was practically naming the Presi-Jefferson being seated in 1800, and his

party being in the ascendency in 1804, its members in Congress held a caucus, renominated him, and named Governor Clinton, of New York, for Vice-president, in place of Burr. There is no record of a Fedbralist caucus in Congress, for the reason that the members of that party were infinenced by a knot of leaders who had undertaken to form a coalition between the New England Federalists and the Middle States Democrats, because of the latter's jealousy of the domination of Virginia, for the purpose of making Burr a candidate. A part of this scheme was for Burr to become the Democratic candidate for Governor in New York, but at this functure Alexander Hamilton, who had rendered the country signal service so often, wrote a letter setting forth Burr's unfitness. This letter led to a duel, in which Hamilton was killed and Burr's hopes blasted. Had Burr succeeded in his candidacy for Governor he would doubtless have been sprung upon the country as a coalition candidate for President. Practically there was no opposition to Jefferson.

THE CAUCUS BECOMES UNPOPULAR. So successful had the congressional caucus been that in January, 1808, Senator Bradley, of Vermont, chairman of the previous Jefferson party caucus, issued a call "in pursuance of the powers vested in him." There began to be murmurs because the system was of the machine order, and the result would be a candidate whom Jefferson should dictate, his choice being known to be Madison. Of the 130 Democratic Congressmen only eighty-nine attended the caucus, of whom eighty-three voted for Madison. The Legislature of Virginia was interested in the matter, and held two cancuses before the congressional, one of which named Madison unanimously, and the other, a smaller one, named Monroe by a large majority. Monroe's friends in Congress subsequently issued a protest to the nomination of Madison, declaring that he was unfit for the presidency in troublous times, and denouncing the congressional caucus for arrogating to themselves the "right which belongs to the people if selecting presidential candi-dates." The caucus members, however. defended themselves on the ground that they acted "only in their individual character as citizens." There is no record of a Federalist caucus; indeed, the few Federalists in Congress were coquetting with Monroe and Chinton Democrate, who would have accepted the nomination of their opponents in politics and personal friends could the arrangement have been made. Consequently, by common consent the Federalists fell back upon their old candidates, Pinckney and King.

In 1812, the war question was the leading one, and a large faction of the Democratic-

associates plainly told the philosophical President that unless he made his message a war message he could not be renominated. He yielded, but an willingly, and because he did the congressional caucus of his party renominated him, eighty-two of the 133 Democratic Congressmen being present. While this caucus took the precaution to proclaim that its members were acting as "individual citizens," it appointed a national committee to cause its nominations to be observed. Subsequently Gov. Clinton's friends in the New York Legislature met in caucus and nominated him as the anti-administration candidate in opposition to the congressional caucus, whose action "always resulted in the selection of a Virginia candidate." Governor Clinton was a great man, but there never was more active presidential bee in any man's bonnet than in his. In September before the election of 1812 the Federalists from all the States north of the Potomac and South Carolina held a secret meeting in New York, and after a three days' debate agreed

to anything. Monroe seemed to be regarded as the pre-ordained successor of Madison, even if his friends could not wait at first. He was not a strong man, but got the nomination of the congressional caucus because there was no other available man. In the members were present. A resolution declaring that cauens nominations ought to be abolished was voted down and Monroe was nominated, receiving sixty-five votes to fifty-four for Crawford. The Federalits, who at this time controlled but two or three New England States, and who deserved none for their opposition to the war of 1812, gave their electrial votes to Rufus King by common consent.

PASSING OF THE CAUCUS. In 1820 the chairman of the previous presidential caucus called such a meeting. but only fifty attended, and these yielded to the impatience of the further dictation of a congressional caucus, and separated without action. By a sort of common consent Monroe, a sort of negative man, was re-elected almost unanimously, the federal faction having disappeared.

In 1824 old party lines had disappeared, but in the one Republican-Democratic

party as leaders there were the germs of the two existing parties which held the first and last parts of that party name, respectively. It was also generally felt that the naming of presidential candidates violation of the Constitusional cancus. In several States the legislatures had requested Senators and Representatives not to participate in such caucuses. But the friends of Crawford, who felt that his self-abnegation in the congressional caucus of 1816 permitted the nomination of Monroe, insisted that he had claims to the presidency and the congressional nomination. They therefore called a caucus to give Mr. Crawford the advantage of "regularity." Only sixty-eight of 258 members attended, of whom sixty-four voted for Crawford. That was the end of congressional nominations, as Mr. Crawford stood third in the list of candidates, receiving but forty-two electoral votes. Adams was elected by the House, there being no choice by the presidential electors. He was supported by the Northeastern States chiefly, and was not a formally nominated candidate. Andrew Jackson, who had the largest number of electoral votes, was nominated by the Tennessee and other legislatures as a protest against the old order of things, and Henry Clay was nominated by the Kentucky Legislature. Adams and Clay were free constructionists of the Constitution, in favor of internal improvements in contradistinction to the other candidates and their supporters, who attentions were as easily drawn by that election saw two well-defined parties. But the congressional caucus was a thing of the past. It could not stand the war made upon what was sugmatized as "King Caucus."

QUEER TURN OF THE GRIP. A Brooklyn Man's Tongue Swells Until It Causes an Excruciating Death.

New York Herald. William Hanley, twenty-five years old, a news-dealer at Sackett and Hicks street, died in the City Hospital, Brooklyn, yesterday morning, of glossitis, or .affammation of the tongue, after an illness of four days. The disease is an exceptionally rare one, and has excited the attention of medical men in Brooklyn. Hanley was attacked with the grip on

Friday morning, and in the evening his tongue began to swell and pain him greatly. By midnight Hanley's tongue and surrounding glands were swollen to such an extent as to force his jaws apart, and he was unable to speak or swallow. The physicians were puzzled as to the

nature of the disease, and had Hanley removed to the City Hospital on Saturday morning. Soon after his arrival there several of the most eminent physicians in Brooklyn became interested in the case and held a consultation, but they were unable to reach any conclusion regarding the strange malady. The patient suffered the most excruciat-

ing agony. The tongue was so thick that it pressed against the open jaws, and the hospital doctors were afraid that Hanley would suffocate. He was unable to articulate and could only make negative or affirmative motions with his head. He was very weak on Sunday, but the

inflammation appeared to lessen. An abscess also formed on the right side of the tongue, and the doctors had hopes that the unfortunate man would recover. His pulse tongue again began to enlarge and protrude from the month. The doctors were compelled to watch at Hanley's bedside constantly to prevent him from suffocating. From Hanley's parents Dr. Waugh learned that Hanley had often been seized with

rheumatic pains, and had taken drugs to relieve pain. It was thought that his disease might have resulted from the effects of the drugs, but eminent medical men scouted the idea, and were inclined to believe that a diphtheritic inflammation had brought it on. Mrs. Hanley told the Doctor that her son

had been in delicate health for several months, but had never been known to have any such disease. Sometimes Hanley complained of a tickling sensation in his throat, but nothing

was thought of it. Hanley tried to talk on Monday after-noon, and pointed to his tongue. He evidently wanted to explain something to the doctors who sat at his bedside. Failing to make himself understood he began to cry. The doctors assured him that he would recover, and told him to remain quiet. During the night, however, his condition became worse, and the enlarged tongue

was forced hard against the open jaws. The attendants upon Hanley were unable to witness his agony and left his bedside. At 4 o'clock vesterday morning Hanley died. An autopsy on the body was made yesterday afternoon in the presence of the entire medical staff of the institution. The conthat the disease was formed through a diphtheritic inflammation.

Dr. William Waugh, assistant house surgeon of the City Hospital, said that the disease was the first of its kind in the history of that institution. He said that every effort was made to obtain from Hanley a history of the case, but he was unable to speak.

Good Advice to Art Students,

New York Evening Post. A woman most familiar with the advantages offered to girl art students in both Paris and New York advises those young persons whose motto is "Art for money's sake" to do their studying in America. Even for those with higher motives she believes that almost as good advantages are to be had at home. "There is no pot-boil-ing work to be had at Paris," she says, "and even if there were American girls could not compete with the trained French artist artisans. There are no pupils to be had for obvious reasons. In America there are pupils to be had everywhere, and there is pot- all this filth is in an alley than in the boiling art-work galore for any girl or street!" Mrs. Johnson looked up the alley, woman with pluck enough to strike out for herseif and to read the newspapers, advertisements, art notes and labor-interest columps. It is not absolutely necessary that every girl who studies art should do so with the idea of becoming an easel artist. It is multitudes of barrels and boxes that rejust as socially respectable to be a success- | ceive the refuse of restaurant-keepers and ful artist artisan, making two thousand a lall other keepers. This filth then brewsyear, as to sell pictures to the extent of five | irritates, and at last corrodes, and just hundred and scheme to get yourself invited to dinner to make out your livelihood. I do not hesitate to say that, with | themselves as candidates for re election this its various technical art schools, New York | filth is emptied early in the morning in offers superior advantages over Paris for | time to give the cock a chance to crow!" Republican party, led by Henry Clay, were resolved to have a war candidate. There is, art of a remunerative sort, out of which proud of the fact that all this was done good livelihoods may be earned by woman." women for the study of applied art-that Mrs. Johnson was very thankful and very ilvelincods may be earned by women." and that the cock was not prevented from Allkinds of house-finish Lumber. Shingles, etc

HE HAS PRIDE IN HIS CITY

Mr. Johnson and His Wife Out for Their Sunday Afternoon Stroll.

Points of Excellence in Local Government That Swelled His Chest-Democratic Incubators - Alleys for Dirt-Heaps.

It is with the keenest sense of pride, almost akin to patriotism, that the genial man of family puts on his Prince Albert coat and shiniest pair of trousers on Sunday afternoon, and offers his arm to his beaming wife for a stroll down street. to support Chaton, but it did not amount | The past inclemencies of the weather, together with the beautiful enamel until lately worn by the pavements, have precluded him from doing this proud duty to his native city of Indianapolis as well as his native wife, -- but, remembercaucus of 1816, 118 of 141 Democratic | ing that the recent ground-hog announcement and the latest signal service bulletins agree, he casts his eye about with the air of a man who thoroughly understands his business, and despising the accommodations offered by the street cars, sets forth on foot for the center of the city. Although the breeze is colder than it looked from his cozy parlor window, he msists, while talking to his wife, that it is only "vigorous," and that it is just the kind of tonic they both need, and his susceptible better fraction, who has taken everything in the shape of a tonic from balsam to bituminous coal, is willing to admit, without further argument, that it is quite the thing they need. "I desire," said Mr. Johnson (for this is



Mr. and Mrs. Johnson.

is his name), feigning the air of a man in charge of a Niagara Falls excursion-"my dear. I desire to draw your attention to the infallible top of that monument over there," for it may be said that, while Mr. Johnson was always select in his use of language. he sometimes selected the wrong word; but as that is a part of his own private affair and has nothing to do with the pith of his observations, the above parenthesis relates. perhaps, more nearly to the writer's im-pertinence than to Mr. Johnson's discredit. And in turn, it may be said, that as Mrs. Johnson had all her life been accustomed to having her attentions drawn by no person or thing other than Mr. Johnson, her were strict constructionists. The next | gentleman as his pension, and the conversation, in which he always played the leading role, went on as smoothly as Judge Buskirk's work-house grist.

"That monument," resumed the man of family, "will be crowned with the exquisite figure of a woman, wrapped in flowing robes, with an eagle's claws in her hair, and a lighted torch in her chiseled hand, held up above us, my dear, to remind us that Indianapolis never forgets the memory of her brave sons." Here Mr. Johnson's face seemed to fairly sweat radiance from every square inch of its iridescent surface, and Mrs. Johnson stood still and looked long and thoughtfully at the object whose purpose had en so graphically described. Mrs. Johnson felt the importance of the monumer ! all over, and it was as comfortable as fannel. She had never thought of it before. It was the sudden discovery of a new delight, and Mrs. Johnson's swelling became contagious. "Look at our own cozy, beautiful street," freshened Mr. Johnson, "look at the stately trees and the handsome homes. Note the enterprise of the hackmen as they ply the gentle lash to their competing horses, and see what healthy cheeks we behold on every tripping maiden we pass. I think, my dear, from a sanitary point of view Indianapolis is a ghoul." At the conclusion of this remark Mrs. Johnson, contrary to her custom, experienced certain symptems of doubt that produced a peculiar nervous sensation along her valuable spine but she immediately ventured to assure her husband that she felt a city and State pride in their sanitary point of view, and concluded by asking him if they couldn't make it in their way to visit it some time soon.

"Visit what?" softly queried Mr. Johnson, to which she very flatly replied: "Why, the insane asylum you were speaking about, dearest."

Mr. Johnson thought for a moment and said he guessed they could. "Do you know, my dear," as he began to swell again, "that our Board of Public Shirks have for months past been simply unsernpulous in keeping the streets clean and making everything comfortable for the people?

Mrs. Johnson unwittingly and very readily affirmed that she didn't know (for, indeed, this was the first time the good woman had been out since the brown nuts feli.) "This is Washington street," explained Mr. Johnson, as they entered the principal thoroughfare of this city, stubbornly forgetting that Mrs. Johnson had grown up in Indianapolis, and was as familiar with its details as Thomas Lavender Sullivan himself, and like a Chinese actor proceeded with his part against any and all oppositions. "This is Washington street, the pride of our city. Looking to the east you may see

the spire of the kirt-house." "Dear, O dear," interrupted Mrs. John-son, "is that the dirt-house? What a palace!" and Mrs. Johnson wrapped her shawl tightly around her in order to better contain the swelling pride in her bosom. "Aye, indeed," said Mr. Johnson, "and a munificent building it is. Do you see that circle of light around its jilted dome like a ato?-and do you know from whence it springs? or, in other words, what it represents?" Mrs. Johnson was forced to her barracks, and reluctantly admitted that she did not know what the im-

aginary ring represented. "Why," delineated her lord, "that represents the court-house ring, and carries, my dear, all the delicate ag-Thomas Taggart wears one about his alord head. You see he is the possessor of the Democratic State committee, but, my dear, it would take me weeks and weeks to tell you why you, as a citizen of this city and state, should permit your bosom to swell with pride at the mention of the name of Thomas Taggart. We will defer the matter until next Sund: v. and in the meantime, my dear, you may make arrangements to feel a larger pride than you have ever felt before." And Mrs. Johnson, without further ado, put the matter off and began thinking about ordering a much larger dress than the one she were, when her meditations were broken by her husband's voice: "This," and Mr. Johnson stopped short in his walk; "this little narrow street you see is one of the alleys of our city. Let your eye follow its umber walls as far as it can reach. You behold it is full of muck and slush, and the odor issuing from it is not like that from orange blossoms. No; it is a good, honest Democratic stench, and would deceive nobody. Think, my dear, how much better then along the street, and was proceeding to think, as she had been advised, when when her husband interrupted her, as usual. "By closely observing this alley and all the other allies of our city you will find

about the time our Democratic municipal

officers begin to think about announcing

A WORD TO THE WISE.

Worth Untold Gold to You, Perhaps.

Now is the season of pains and aches, of rheumatism and neuralgia, as spring approaches. Yet it is absurd and unnecessary to suffer. Speaking on this subject, the well-known Mr. James Bown, of 27 Market street, New York city, said: "I had neuralgia and rheumatism terribly in in by back and side. So badly did I suffer that I was unable to attend to my business for three years before I came across the right remedy to cure me. The remedy is Dr. Greene's Nervura, and I have been perfectly and completely cured by this wonderful medicine."

"I had a pain in my right side for four months," said Mrs. J. T. Cummings, of 13 3 Lorain street, Cleveland, O., "and was nervous, and I could not sleep nights. I got no relief until I took Dr. Greene's Nervura. The pain has left me entirely, and now I sleep much



"I suffered for many years with a terrible neuralgia in my head and neck," said Alonzo Pachin, Esq., of Boiceville, N. Y., "and oh dearhow it pained me all through. I took Dr. Greene's Nervura, and it cured me completely of the fearful pain. I think Dr. Greene's Nervura is the very best medicine I ever saw or used." Everyone who has used it speaks the same regarding it. It is purely vegetable and harmless, and can be obtained of your druggist for \$1.

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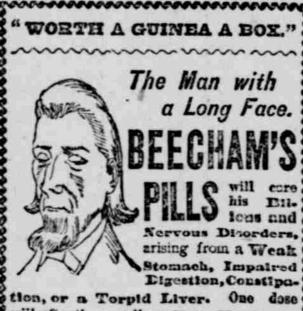
crowing in time to wake its sleepy co nstituents, and the conversation went on. "You observe," and Mr. Johnson assumed a dramatic air, "you observe that long row of somnolent-looking rookeries on the south side of the street opposite the State-house. You would hardly think those unauspicious coops were of any great value to the Deemocratic party!" To which proposition the amiable gentlewoman assented irresolutely, and was ready to believe they were or they were not, whichever better suited the principles of that grand fraternity. "Well, they are, most decidedly," resumed the genial husband. "They are our municipal Democratic incubators. We take them there before they are hatched, and keep them warm until the great day of their final development, when, with the dews of their broken chrysalis still on their tender wings they hie away to the Australian straight jacket and blot the bull's eye for Deemocracy," and Mr. Johnson leaned back with the air of a man who had for once in his life done himself and his subject justice. Mrs. Johnson would have cheerfully joined her husband in a proper ratification

and struggled fiercely to get ber breath. "Why, what's the matter, my dear?" solicited her protector. "O that herrible machine! I-I. O I'm choking! My dearg! O dear!!! What is it-. I-I am strangling!!!" "Why, my dear," softly reprimanded the genial man of family, "that is only the Sunday afternoon street-sweeper," and, in a cloud of dust that was blinding the unfortunate lady, she was forced to hear her husband detail the virtues of the noble machine. "It is the pride of the city, and a fit Sabbath institution. It furnishes the people with an unmistakable ocular demonstration of those religious duties so vigorously and untiringly persecuted by the board of public shirks. Look at that proud form perched high above the revolving cylinder containing the brooms, mark the scornful indifference that paints his Nubian features as he spreads the obnoxious dust along our polished business fronts and the Sunday clothes of our happy people. Who are you hallooing at, my dear!"

of his effort, but saddenly clung to his arm

It was too late, even the faithful wife of the genial ward politician could stand it no longer, and Mrs. Johnson was soon inside the carriage she had hailed. Mr. Johnson was too proud to let her go alone, and took a seat by her side, after giving the driver instructions to stop at --- 's around the corner on the way home.

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